20c FEBRUARY 23, 1953

ONE-PARTY TELEVISION, TOO?

New Republic

ADLAI STEVENSON on THE BIG DEAL

JOHN SPARKMAN on CHINA—PATH OF PERIL

Reviews of

THE RAKE'S PROGRESS by Robert Evett

MARY LINCOLN BIOGRAPHY by Gerald W. Johnson

THOMAS MERTON'S MEMOIRS by S. M. Fitzgerald

FEB 18 1953

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Letters

What Are You Going to Do About It?

● When more than half of all the former Volunteers for Stevenson in Minnesota showed active interest in Stevenson's principles after his defeat as a candidate for the Presidency, plans were laid to form a new organization which would continue to work for those principles. Former Volunteers for Stevenson have recently met, and as delegates to an organizing convention have formed the Minnesota Stevenson Forum Committee. At this convention we arrived at a statement of purpose and articles of association, we elected permanent officers, and we agreed upon a program of action. One of our hopes is to sponsor nationwide radio and television programs in order to provide Stevenson a public forum.

We realize, of course, that Stevenson has asked that the debt of the Democratic National Committee be paid before funds are solicited in his behalf. But far from wishing that this debt be slowly or never liquidated, many of us as Democrats are helping to pay it. Many of us old Democrats, as a direct consequence of Stevenson's defeat, have raised our pledge to the Democratic organization through Minnesota's Buck-a-Month-or-More plan, and others of us are new contributors to the party attracted wholly by Stevenson. The Stevenson Forum Committee has no desire to take anything from the Democratic Party. It does hope to add something to it.

We realize further that Stevenson must respect the right of a new administration to a fair chance. And it is useless to expect Stevenson to agree to any definite speaking program until there exists a working organization ready to pay for it. We hope that we have done something toward starting such an organization.

During the weeks since the election, the *New Republic* and its readers have encouraged us to hope that a plan like ours might find wider support. To be successful we need the help of groups like ours in dozens of other cities. We're sure that many of your readers would like, once more, to hear Adlai Stevenson "talk sense to the American people." We would like to hear from interested individuals, and we particularly appeal to former Volunteers for Stevenson officers to write to us for additional information.

Minneapolis, Minn. MONRAD G. PAULSEN

What Kennan Said

● In George Kennan's article (*NR*, Feb. 2) the sentence beginning "The great ethical and philosophical differences . . . " does not make sense in the context. Have some words perhaps been omitted? If so it might be desirable to publish a correction, as many readers may wish to have the authentic text of this admirable statement.

New York City MIRIAM S. FARLEY

[Miss Farley is correct. A line was omitted from Mr. Kennan's article. The passage should read: "The great ethical and philosophical differences which separate us from the Soviets are not ones that can be talked out of existence at the present time. But there are specific international situations in which useful ends can be served by practical arrangement to which both sides agree." . . . – THE EDITORS.]

New Subscriber

● . . . I'll appreciate it very much if you will put me on your subscription list. Send me a bill for the subscription price and I'll send you a check for it.

Kansas City, Mo. HARRY S. TRUMAN

"The Children's Hour"

● Recently in the *New Republic* (Jan. 5) Eric Bentley complained of Lillian Hellman's play, *The Children's Hour*, that the child's villainy in destroying her teachers with a lie is unmotivated. So it is. This illustrates the danger of using historical sources, and bowdlerizing them.

The story of *The Children's Hour* actually happened—in Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century. The late William Roughead wrote it up from original, suppressed sources, and Miss Hellman borrowed it from him.

It is an ugly story. Miss Hellman did not blench at most of it. She retained the shadow of Lesbianism (at which Hollywood blenched). She retained the nasty public will to believe the worst. She retained the malice of the child; but at its psychological roots she blenched. She excised them from the story, and left Mary's malice rootless. She dropped them, because they were in the '30s (and still are) highly unfashionable.

The child's vicious malice arose because she was the victim of racial discrimination. She was a half-caste, child of an English father and an Indian mother.

Miss Hellman's fearless moral indignation did not extend so far as to keep this necessary part of the whole. She probably feared an outcry from the well-meaning if she made her villain a member of an oppressed race.

And yet that is the deepest source of indignation in the story as it actually happened. One may pity the ruined teachers, suffering the consequences of racial oppression of which all contemporary society was guilty. But the tragic figure is the child, warped so young by forces of evil beyond her control. The true enemy of both is the same—racial discrimination.

The tragic lesson of the story, as it actually happened, is the inmost evil of discrimination—not that it limits the usefulness of noble persons who happen to be the wrong color, evil as that is; but that it degrades and dehumanizes the less noble, by putting on them a strain to which ordinary powers are unequal.

Miss Hellman is certainly at liberty to wax normally indignant over less touchy subjects; but it is too bad to censor a true tragedy as you find it, and end up, as Eric Bentley points out, with a mere *diabolus ex machina.*

Boulder, Colo. LILLIAN DE LA TORRE

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

It Pays To Be Ignorant

Rep. Martin Dies (D, Tex.) said high government salaries are giving Congressmen an "inferiority complex." He said Congressmen know more about any given subject and are collectively more intelligent than any mere government official. – *From the Washington* News.

Suggestion of the Week

The *Manchester Guardian* said today that President Eisenhower "had better appoint an assistant Secretary of State with the special function of explaining what Mr. Dulles is talking about. – *From an AP dispatch.*

That Should Go First

BUILDERS AND REALTY MEN CONFIDENT OF SUCESSFUL YEAR
Realty Groups Busy Mapping Attack Against Buyers Market
– *Headline in the Washington* Post.

Explanation

PROVO: [Utah] Elder Ezra Taft Benson said Monday his appointment was not an honor to an individual but to the entire Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. . . .

". . . it is the fulfillment of a prophecy of Joseph Smith, who said the Church would one day assume leadership in Washington. – *From the church page of the* Deseret News.

That Is an Improvement

In 1900, only 772 children of each 1,000 born lived to the age of 20. Today, 950 of 1,000 see 200. – *From the Twin City* News-Record.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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EDITOR, Michael Straight
CHAIRMAN, Editorial Board: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller
LITERARY EDITOR: Robert Richman
REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Tom Fitzsimmons, Arnold J. Heidenheimer (on leave with the Armed Services)
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Eric Bentley, Drama Critic; Malcolm Cowley; Robert Evett, Music Critic.
CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Dudley Fitts, Kimon Friar, Gerald Johnson, V. O. Key, Max Lerner, Richard Lester, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, James Johnson Sweeney, Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin
COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

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WASHINGTON WIRE

"IF A MAN tells you he sees pink elephants, you don't help any by telling him he is crazy. You take a gun and go out and shoot and then say the elephants are dead. Then the man is happy."

That is the philosophy some Republicans have been trying to adopt in Washington. It is no longer possible to tell the public Washington isn't honeycombed with subversives, they say, so the newcomers are making great to-do about clearing everybody with the FBI. Secretary Dulles, too, has been stressing the "pink elephant" approach in foreign affairs. Embassies here say he has been reasonably mild and placatory in private dealing with their governments, but for the sake of voters back home he has been allowing the impression to spread of a new "toughness" in foreign dealings and is stressing "75-day ultimatums" to our allies. Actually, in most particulars he has been following the Truman-Acheson foreign policy. He has been prodding allies, it is true, but he has also been firing off blasting caps at pink elephants for the home folks—pink elephants which he himself helped materialize in the 1952 campaign.

The Dulles' approach is bold, and doubly dangerous. As Adlai Stevenson said over the week-end: "We will frighten no Russians by threatening our allies." The second danger is in Congress. Something bordering on hysteria gripped excitable Republican Senators last week. They thought they had got the Administration signal to shoot real elephants. Foreign Relations Chairman Alexander Wiley was on the point of bombing the Chinese mainland; Knowland and half a dozen others were ready to blockade the coast. Ultimately Dulles and good old sober Omar Bradley had to go up and soothe the fury the Administration had created. Deneutralizing Formosa isn't going to end the war right away it appears—in part it is "psychological warfare."

As Eisenhower learns how vastly more complicated everything is in Washington than he saw it in the campaign things should get easier for him. He probably did not foresee the row over the confirmation of Charlie Wilson; the chances of tax reduction and Korean peace probably seem more distant now than they did in the campaign. He could not have understood the bad timing of Secretary Benson's lecture on self-reliance to farmers at St. Paul last week, just when farm prices are slipping. There is evidence also that Ike is shocked by the way everything leaks from Congress, such as his decision on Formosa—it certainly makes it harder to practice psychological warfare. He is not getting much help yet from his green cabinet, with the possible exception of Treasury Secretary Humphrey. There, if this column is any judge, is a tower of strength. It is a bit early to say, but we guess this Cleveland industrialist may be to Ike what Ogden Mills was to Hoover—the Treasury strong man of the Administration.

As a military man, psychological warfare appeals vastly to Ike. With all our heart we hope it works. But what confuses Moscow is certainly, we see, going to confuse Washington; this devious policy is going to be vastly harder for a democracy to implement than for Russia. Perhaps after all the best psychological warfare of all for America is not military, but domestic effort at social betterment at home, fair racial dealing, a world reputation for tolerance to minority views—idealism, democracy and Point Four diplomacy rather than "dollar" diplomacy. Somehow we keep coming back to Adlai Stevenson and what he said Saturday night: "If we win men's hearts throughout the world, it will not be because we are a big country but because we are a great country. Bigness is imposing. But

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greatness is enduring." We wish we could write like that. . . . "Only a people who can achieve moral mastery of themselves can hope to win the moral leadership of others."

The Rosenbergs got a fair trial; they were rightfully condemned; the President rejected their appeal for clemency and they must die. And now we must all be harrowed by watching Communists turn them into "martyrs." Somehow, it seems to us, Ike missed the point in rejecting their appeal for mercy. In the course of this very business of psychological warfare Moscow is using the miserable couple for its own ends; it would, of course, much rather have the Rosenbergs dead than alive. A mild sentence like that which the British gave the traitor Fuchs, or to Alan Nunn May —or even life imprisonment—would have made it harder for the obscene Communist propaganda. But who can even suggest such a sensible point any longer without fear of being attacked as "weak to Communists"?

We can't somehow get worked up over falling meat prices. The cattlemen organized the strike against Truman in 1946 by withholding meat, and the hubbub over prices, scarce steaks and "federal mismanagement" gave the GOP the Congressional election. Now if the GOP declines to help the unhappy cattle industry when there is a glut, it's fine by us. The Republicans are being admirably consistent, and we like it.

Notes: *Offshore oil comes up shortly.* . . . Republican House members have told Ike they can't win the election next year if they don't vote for prompt tax cuts; they'll get the chance to pass the Reed bill ultimately, but the real decision will come in the Senate. . . . Taft has reminded Ike there are a lot of millionaires around his Administration and that the GOP is really a middle-class party. . . . Taft also wants to postpone eliminating the Excess Profits Tax for six months, thereby saving the Treasury $1.25 billion. . . . The first Eisenhower reorganization bill should come soon, setting up a new Welfare Department in the cabinet. . . . It should pass easily.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

The Campaign Deficit

● The contributions sent or pledged to the *New Republic's* fund for "Keeping Stevenson Going" have now been transferred to help cover the deficit of the campaign, in accordance with Mr. Stevenson's wish, and your recommendation. At least, I trust that all your readers who wanted to contribute have followed your advice about this.

May I suggest that you keep us informed as to the progress being made in this matter? It would be a comfort to watch that deficit disappear. When it is finally wiped out, that will be the signal, not to relax our efforts, but to consider where and how we may best apply them next, to help keep alive the principles expressed by Stevenson.

Congratulations on the way you handled that fund, and all the extra bookkeeping and letter-writing it must have entailed. In fact, congratulations all around to your excellent, courageous magazine. Enclosed is my check for a year's subscription, to start when my present 13-week one expires.

New York City DOROTHY T. HIRSCH

[The campaign deficit which was $587,000 at the close of the campaign has now been reduced to around $350,000. – THE EDITORS.]

The Why of Soviet Hostility

● This letter is in reference to G. F. Kennan's generally fine article (*NR*, Feb. 2).

Kennan states: "Some people will tell you that it was the American intervention in Russia in 1918 and 1919, or other acts of American policy in that early period, which created Soviet hostility to ourselves. That is not correct."

Certainly Soviet hostility was not aroused by American action alone. But it was only natural when you consider that 14 countries, including Great Britain, France, Japan, Germany, United States and Italy, had invaded the territory of Soviet Russia.

The action of the Allies at that time could only harden, and bring the Russian people to anger. As Churchill wrote in his book *The World Crisis: the Aftermath*—

Were they (the Allies) at war with Russia?

Certainly not; but they shot Soviet Russians at sight. They stood as invaders on Russian soil. They armed the enemies of the Soviet Government. They blockaded the ports and sunk its battleships. They earnestly desired and schemed its downfall. But war—shocking! Interference—shame. It was, they repeated, a matter of indifference to them how Russia settled their own affairs. They were impartial—bang!

I point this out to set the record straight in what is an otherwise intelligent, cool, appraisal of a most complicated situation.

New York City BERNARD LANDIS

One-Party Press

● There is no reason to expect of them [the advertisers] a championship of the public interest which might conflict with their business interests.—From *Who Runs T-V?* an editorial in the Washington *Post*, January 7, 1953, commenting on the dismissal of Mr. George S. Kaufman from *This Is Show Business.*

Seemingly, while a young man may be forced to sacrifice his life in Korea to protect the businessman's freedom, it must not be expected that a businessman will have the courage to sacrifice a customer or two in the interest of freedom of speech.

The prospect for "We, the people" looks rather bleak if Eisenhower and his business Cabinet are going to operate under the axiom enunciated by the Washington *Post* as a "Golden Rule" for business.

Washington, D. C. REX AINSWORTH

Volunteers for Stevenson

● Since the *NR* is about the only publication that is keeping the spirit of Governor Stevenson's campaign of speaking sense to the people of the US, I thought you might be interested in what we Volunteers for Stevenson in Detroit are doing.

After Governor Stevenson lost, the V. for S. held a meeting to decide what to do with their organization. A committee was picked to investigate the possibility of keeping the "Volunteers" together as a political group. They are now busy sending out questionnaires to see what the "Volunteers" themselves think about keeping the organization together. I'm sure that when the questionnaires are in they will be overwhelmingly in favor of continuing....

Anyone that lives near Detroit and is interested in participating in a political group like this may get in touch with Betty Linck, 2301 Glynn Court, Detroit 6, Mich.

Detroit, Mich. BILL MCALLISTER

NR for Congressmen

● Walter B. Hall's suggestion that *NR* subscribers send their Congressman a gift subscription of the *New Republic* (Letters, *NR*, Feb. 9) is an excellent one. I plan to start the ball rolling by sending my Senator—Margaret Chase Smith—a 13-week subscription. I hope other readers will do the same thing.

Portland, Me. MRS. RANDOLPH DAVIS

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VOLUME 128, NUMBER 8, ISSUE 1995, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 23, 1953 **New Republic**

CONSTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION—THE STEVENSON CONCEPT

WE WISH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, his official family, and the Congress, godspeed in the awful trials they face. Our prayers go with them in the dark, evil-haunted night they must traverse, confronted with an enemy whose massive power is matched only by its malevolent purpose. . . .

We, the opposition, in these fateful days must contribute much more than epithets, smears and witch hunts to the solution of our problems.

I have been delighted to see that the Democrats in the Congress . . . have been following exactly this kind of positive, intelligent opposition. But the Congress will not be the only place where the Democrats write their record. Democrats hold many offices in states and cities—and we are going to hold many more I will add, a couple of years from now. But there is only one sure way to do so—that is by offering better candidates, better programs, better organization than our opponents. In the townships, the cities, the counties, the Congressional districts, the states, as well as the nation, our job is to make the Democratic Party stand for sound and progressive policies, so that it will attract honest, forward-looking and independent-thinking citizens.

Last fall there was a formidable upsurge of interest by the people of our country in politics. Men and women took part in the campaign who had never before participated in political activities—ringing doorbells, addressing envelopes, doing the pick-and-shovel jobs on which success depends. Many did this in the regular parties; many were in the independent citizens' groups. These people are the new blood of our political life. We need them, and to keep them we must have programs and candidates which will command their active allegiance.

The Republican Party is attempting what has not been tried for a long time—government by businessmen. America has always been a nation ripe for experiment; we Democrats have experimented boldly and accomplished miracles. Because the Republican experiment is new and different in these times, doesn't mean that it is bad. On the contrary it deserves a thorough and fair test. And it faces this test under far more favorable conditions than we Democrats had when we inherited a broken and despairing nation 20 years ago.

I, for one, am prepared to give this business administration my heartiest support—so long as it works faithfully for the public interest. But history warns us, I think, that government by a single group, no matter how high-minded and patriotic it may be, exposes government to genuine dangers. There is always the tendency to mistake the particular interest for the general interest—to suppose, in the immortal thought recently uttered before a committee of Congress, that what is good for General Motors is good for the country. There is always the possibility that the successor of the New Deal will turn out—after the fine words have faded away to be the Big Deal, while the New Dealers have all left Washington to make way for the car dealers—I hasten to say that I do not believe the story that the general welfare has become a subsidiary of General Motors.

Yet this most recent experiment in the management of our public affairs demands our support and sympathy, if only because of the crises we all face together in the world. And let us not deceive ourselves about the size of the Communist conspiracy. The sullen, somber men, the morbid misanthropes of the Kremlin, hardened and disciplined by their monstrous philosophy, dispose of staggering resources in population, in land, in raw materials, and in the zeal which is the product of fanatical faith as well as of ugly fear and ruthless ambition.

At the present time, according to the best estimates, their production is growing at a rate approximately twice our own—and this in a period of remarkable expansion in our own economy. And they are in the struggle to stay. We delude ourselves if we think that a few words uttered on the short-wave radio will cause this iron regime to shatter and disintegrate—that a few blasts on the trumpets of psychological warfare, and the walls will come tumbling down.

The last thing we want, I would suppose, is to stand alone against this threat—to get into a situation where our young men must bear by themselves the full brunt of the Communist assault. That is why our policy has been one of collective strength and mutual security. Our allies share with us, not only bases and raw materials and manpower, but—more important—the common faith

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in the worth of free men which is our most potent weapon.

We need them as they need us. The fact that we have been in a position to contribute most to this collective defense in the way of arms and money does not entitle us to preach or threaten. And I hope I have misunderstood some news of late that sounds to me better calculated to provoke distaste for us than respect. We want not sullen obedience, but friendly co-operation from our allies. We want understanding from them of our problems and heavy tax burdens, even as we patiently try to understand their difficulties. We want no satellites; we want companions in arms, the companionship of embattled freemen in common cause.

For we of the NATO countries and the other free nations are banded together, once and for all, in sickness or health, till—or rather—lest atomic death us do part. I hope I have misread the signs of the revival of the discredited "dollar diplomacy." I hope we are forging no silver chains. We have heard much about the new "psychological" offensive; but we will frighten no Russians by threatening financial sanctions against our allies. On the contrary, the Kremlin is encouraged by all signs of divisions in our ranks.

We Democrats have always favored greater European unity as the only permanent way to make Europe economically solvent and militarily independent. Since 1947 it has been a prime object of our policy. The very core of the Marshall Plan lay in its treatment of Europe as an entity. Using private persuasion, rather than public ultimatums, we have helped create the Organization for European Economic Co-operation; the European Payments Union, and now the Schuman Plan for pooling coal and steel. A European Constitution is being fashioned, and a European Defense Community is a near reality.

These achievements are not accidental; they are the result of a purposeful policy and of friendly persuasion.

A genuine partnership operates through consultation and persuasion. There is no room in it for the big stick or the ultimatum, be it a small or medium ultimatum, or the large economy size. Ours must be the role of the good neighbor, the good partner, the good friend—never the big bully.

And we cannot enlist the support of ordinary people abroad if we do not trust them at home. The Democratic and Republican parties today are separated by the same old principles which divided Jefferson and Hamilton when parties first began in the United States. Hamilton felt that only the men of wealth and business affairs were qualified to understand and conduct government. Jefferson had faith in *all* the people—and, in their faith, our party has fought for the poor and humble and weak when they were oppressed by the wealthy and strong. This has been the central concept of our party—given fiery expression by Andrew Jackson, and renewed by the great Democratic leaders of our own century, by Woodrow Wilson, by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and by that man of Independence, our nation's leading private citizen, Harry Truman. . . .

There has never been a time in history when it is more necessary to reaffirm our Democratic faith, in all its vigor and all its majesty. Some in America today would limit our freedom of expression and conscience. In the name of unity, they would impose a narrow uniformity of idea and opinion. Let no one mistake where the Democratic Party stands on this. We glory in the multiplicity of strains and cultures and ideas that are woven into the tapestry we call America. We share Jefferson's "eternal hostility to any form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Our farms and factories may give us our living. But the Bill of Rights gives us our life. Whoever lays rough hands upon it lays rough hands on you and me. Whoever profanes its spirit diminishes our inheritance and beclouds our title to greatness as a people. If we win men's hearts throughout the world, it will not be because we are a big country but because we are a great country. Bigness is imposing. But greatness is enduring.

Only a government which fights for civil liberties and equal rights for its own people can stand for freedom in the rest of the world.

Only a people who can achieve the moral mastery of themselves can hope to win the moral leadership of others.

Opposition confers opportunity; adversity tests the soul and strengthens the will. "Yield not thy neck to fortune's yoke, but let the dauntless mind still ride in triumph over all mischance."

The Democratic Party understands the nature of the contemporary challenge. The party of all the people, it can speak to all people everywhere. The party of the poor and humble, it can understand the strivings of the poor and humble everywhere. The party of freedom and opportunity, it can hold high the torch of democracy and light the way to liberty for men and women everywhere. And because the Democratic Party understands the challenge of history, history will reward it once again with responsibility.

From Adlai Stevenson's speech to the Eastern States Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, New York, February, 14, 1953.

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THE WEEK

BILL OF ATTAINDER

SALEM, ORE. (NR Corresp.)

Nearly one-third of the members in Oregon's 90-seat legislature have signed a bill to defeat Sen. Wayne Morse by legal fiat when he comes up for re-election in 1956. The bill would require an office-holder to run on the ticket of his original party in seeking another term.

The object of this political straitjacket is to keep Morse in the Republican primary, where the state's reactionaries believe he can be beaten, possibly by Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay. Morse's present intention is to campaign as an Independent. Sponsors of the current legislation frankly admit their measure is a Bill of Attainder, in that it is aimed straight at Morse's plans for 1956.

Although the politicians of the state regard the bill as a clever device for legislating Morse out of his Senate seat, the reaction of the press has been adverse. The *Oregonian* has said it may be an episode which will react to Morse's ultimate advantage. The *Oregon Daily Journal,* which supported Stevenson, has compared the bill to the iniquitous "Grocer George" plot against the late Senator Norris of Nebraska in 1930.

Even zealous backers of Morse believe he could not survive a Republican primary, and this obviously is the goal of the reactionaries in the Oregon legislature. However, running as an Independent, Morse probably would collect the bulk of the minority Democratic vote in the state, plus some progressive Republicans who are affiliated with trade unions or the public power movement.

If the bill to force Morse into the GOP primary passes the legislature, there is some doubt whether Governor L. Patterson will sign it. A challenge in the courts almost surely would follow if the scheme becomes law.

Although Morse has declared himself no longer a Republican, he still remains registered as a Republican in the Lane County courthouse at Eugene, Ore. Some surprise attaches to this, because he even could change his party affiliation by mail. A few political observers wonder if he wants to retain a tenuous foothold in the Republican chariot, for future bargaining purposes.

A PERTINENT REMINDER

Congressional committees have been given a long-needed reminder that witnesses appearing before them cannot be convicted of contempt in refusing to answer questions unless the queries were pertinent to the matter under investigation.

The federal Court of Appeals in Washington, in voicing this reminder, reversed the conviction of a gambling figure who had declined to answer certain questions put to him by the Kefauver crime subcommittee on the ground of possible self-incrimination. It was held that the government had failed to show that the questions were pertinent to an inquiry into organized crime in interstate commerce. Such pertinency "must be established" and "presumption or possibility of pertinency will not suffice."

One of the questions which the witness had declined to answer was: "Do you know William Johnston?" Johnston had been identified as the president of four dog-racing tracks in Florida. The appellate court upheld the refusal to answer this question and did so in language which has far-reaching significance in this era of government by investigation: "One may be said to know another after a mere formal introduction or through the most casual acquaintance. In a sense the subcommittee seems to have accused Bowers of guilt through casual acquaintance, which is even worse than guilt by association. We seriously doubt whether the 'do-you-know-a-certain-person' question, without more, can ever be said to be pertinent for the purposes of a criminal prosecution" for contempt.

INNOCENTS AT HOME

"Reasonable, intelligent men with a common objective, in the presence of the facts, do not have too much trouble coming into agreement."

These words grace the office wall of Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. Chosen to guide subordinates, they express the boss. They deserve more prominent display, for they catch the spirit of the entire administration—the incredible innocence of "Crusaders" marching upon the promised land.

The most sprawling corporation, the most-fingered banking house in this nation is as a dry-cell battery to Grand Coulee when compared to a government whose every decision affects, first, 157 million Americans, then 10 times that many others throughout the world, and must, consequently, be based upon a synthesis of endless, contradictory information.

" . . . in the face of the facts. . . . " What facts? What are the facts concerning the effect of defense spending, or lack of spending, on our company in 1953? in 1954? What are the facts which will show *the* way to end the Korean stalemate? Which will indicate the *way* to achieve unity in Europe? Which will posit *the* answer to the Middle East defense vacuum? *Etc., ad infinitum.*

Surely there are "reasonable, intelligent men" in Europe and elsewhere; perhaps there were even a few in the last Administration. Why then these differences of opinion? Surely there were "facts?"

It's possible that the first time Mr. Wilson gathers his aids in conference he will discover that each has a different set of "facts," indeed, that there is some disagreement as to what is a "fact" and what is not. And even a chance too that some "facts" are unavailable, even unsuspected, and that these might change the relative importance and the meaning of those that are available. Should this happen, it is possible, and to be fer-

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vently hoped, that Mr. Wilson—while wistfully recalling industry, where facts are relatively ascertainable, and where what the boss says is a fact is, to his staff, a fact—will learn it is not through accident or inherent stupidity that since earliest recorded history men have banged into one problem which mothers most others: how to determine what is and what is not fact.

TRAGIC GROUND

The Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee, Board of Censors has succeeded in advertising a play it had hoped to ban. *Tragic Ground*, an adaptation of Erskine Caldwell's novel, opened on February 3 at the Arena Theatre in Memphis. The capacity audience included Caldwell, Sam McCulloch who adapted the novel into a play, and one of the five-member Board of Censors, Avery Blakeney. After seeing the play, Blakeney stated that "it reeks with filth and obscenity." The following morning, the Board of Censors banned the production.

The Board's decision caused Wendell Phillips, leading actor of *Tragic Ground* and formerly Jeter in *Tobacco Road*, to step out of character after performances to remind the audiences that although profane language was used in the play, nowhere had any obscene words been used. Phillips also compared Memphis to Boston in its social prudery and questioned how those who loved states' rights could submit to such censorship.

Editor Frank Alghren of the *Commercial Appeal* accepted the censors' verdict and editorialized as follows: "The translation was, in the opinion of critics and those patrons we have heard from, amateurish and bawdy. . . . The play has been banned. We regard official censorship as an agency of last resort, but in this case it was justified."

A more cautious tone was taken in the *Press-Scimitar*: "Don't Ban It—Just Stay Away from It." Producer McCullouch took exception to the Board's ruling: "When something is true to its model . . . then I find it impossible to think it should be banned. I cannot understand the prohibition against writing about any true subject in the world. Such conditions exist. I can point out such conditions right in Memphis, near the theatre."

After the ultimatum was delivered, the play and its producer moved across the Mississippi to West Memphis. But even the Joy Theater, which was noted for its risque productions, refused to permit its production. Finally, the play found refuge in Plantation Inn, a rundown night club about a mile from the new Arkansas-Tennessee Bridge, outside the West Memphis city limits.

The story of *Tragic Ground* takes over where *Tobacco Road* left off. Spence Douthit is a sad country migrant, wooed to the city slum of "Poor Boy" by an overly-ambitious oil company which folded and left its erstwhile employees stranded. It is written with artful awareness of the conflicts involved. Despite the disadvantage of a makeshift stage and the adverse publicity given the production, some 600 people attended every performance.

FRANCO PLAYS ROUGH

Last year Sen. Pat McCarran, whose admiration for Franco is only equalled by Franco's for Hitler's ghost, prodded Congress into granting Spain $125 million in MSA funds. The grant was made subject to ratification of an agreement. Such an agreement was, understandably, long in coming; and, while Franco's spokesmen delivered periodic denunciations of the delay here, El Caudillo was busy elsewhere. In November he convinced the eight nations of the Tangiers Control Council to set aside the 1945 agreement excluding Spain from all major governmental posts in Tangiers in retaliation for her active support of the Axis during the war. Spain now controls all police and anti-espionage services in Tangier, which is in effect no longer an "international zone" while Gibraltar is weakened. During the same period, Spain concluded a trade agreement with Bonn for the exchange of goods amounting to some DM400 million during 1952-53. Germany will send machinery and receive valuable ores such as wolfram. The pact is part of an effort to force our hand by demonstrating that Spain has old friends in Europe—see recent statements by Marshal Juin, and German remarks about renewing old Madrid-Berlin ties—and strategic materials to contribute to common defense.

During election month a "full agreement" between the US and Spain was reported: the $125 million would be granted for specific programs—road and railway improvements, for example; the US would use other funds to convert Cadiz and Cartagena in first-class naval bases and to build airbases. Final agreement was left to the new administration.

Now, emboldened by success and by Republican promises of "toughness," Franco is holding out for more. He wants to use the $125 million as he sees fit—his immense police and prison systems need funds, he wants us to modernize the Army—its primary function is to hold a people subject; and he demands that we guarantee Spain's security—which would make us his spokesman for admission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and to full standing in the community of free nations.

We can only recall a sentence in President Eisenhower's State of the Union Message: "We shall never acquiesce in the enslavement of any people in order to purchase fancied gain for ourselves."

WATCH OUT NEIGHBOR

Rep. H. Carl Andersen, the Minnesota Republican chairman of the key House Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations, warned delegates to the REA co-op convention in San Francisco that some Congressmen might withdraw their support for REA if the co-ops continue to inform their members of Congressional voting records on public power issues.

According to the Farmers Union weekly report from Washington, Anderson told the REA members to "be very careful not to be a party to the publication of these so-called voting records and smear sheets that are put out around election time." He suggested that the organization end the practice of publishing voting records to "avoid the chance of alienating the friends you have in Congress."

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EUROPE REJECTS PLATITUDES AND INSULTS

WHEN THE Honorable David Bowes-Lyon, uncle of the present reigning Queen of England, visited the White House on a wartime mission just 11 years ago he tried to convince President Roosevelt that a technique of combat, then new to US official practice, should properly be known by its old British name—political warfare—rather than by its more recent German name—psychological warfare. The President said laughing that if he approved "political warfare," there would be many persons on the Hill sure that it was—or hid—some new-fangled way of fighting Congress.

Now, 11 years later, there are many persons in the major Western European capitals, who think that the immediate purpose of President Eisenhower's new psychological warfare offensive on the China coast may well be to strengthen political warfare defenses on Capitol Hill. Moreover, there are few persons anywhere in Western Europe who are comforted by the assurances given by Secretary Dulles that the Formosa decision is intended largely to recapture the initiative in psychological warfare from the Soviets, and presents little danger of extending real war.

And if the state of Europe has not been improved by the State of the Union address and its sequels, one of the reasons is the fear that Eisenhower may have let himself in for dangerous confusions about the relations between psychological, political and real warfare.

The McCarthyite wing of the Republican Party has flourished by spreading fear of disloyalty, subversion and sabotage within the US. The result of the election can be taken by Eisenhower's advisers as suggesting that it was successful as a combination of psychological and political warfare. Can it be, therefore, that the China Lobby has led the President and the "respectables" of the party to pin their faith on the effectiveness of fomented disloyalty, subversion and sabotage as weapons "to cause greatest hurt" in continental China, the European satellites, even the Soviet Union itself?

European experts find no justification for the assumption that there is any parallel between hysterical fear as a weapon of domestic US politics and exaggerated faith in fomenting such fear as a means of opening breaches—physical, psychological or political—into a totalitarian regime.

Europeans are far away from the physical arena in which Eisenhower has chosen to test the theory of his big-soldier and big-business advisers that quick, bold action is the key to success. Yet they feel themselves in a foreseeable line of fire, if not actually targets. For they agree with Anthony Eden that the Formosa decision will have "unfortunate *political* consequences without compensating military advantages."

From their viewpoint, the greatest weakness of the Eisenhower statement on world policy is that, *politically*, all the goals it set forth are in fact methods. The President said that the "one sure way to avoid total war . . . is to win the Cold War." But he did not say of US policy, as Eden did of British, that it is "to help resolve differences, to circumscribe conflicts."

Spanish democrats—those in exile, if not in prison—winced at Eisenhower's pledge that: "We shall never acquiesce in the enslavement of any people in order to purchase fancied gain for ourselves." Frenchmen with relatives in Indo-China, fearful of more of Mao Tse-tung's help for the Viet-Minh, know that the *Times* of London was historically justified in pointing out that:

> Chiang Kai-shek's men are regarded in China as a reactionary émigré force, and the story of all successful revolutions show that nothing welds a people more closely round the revolutionary leaders than the threat of émigré intervention with the support of other powers.

The President's comments on Europe, less tactless than those of his Secretary of State, nevertheless contained the slighting reference to a "posture of paralyzed tension" and made plain that US cash would be available only on the barrel-head of a ratified EDC. The French big-business pro-US *Figaro* suggested that enlightened national self interest should become a "solidarity of national interests and egotisms"—in the plural. The *Monde* commented acidly that "power does not necessarily confer the monopoly of clear-sightedness," and added that "no dollar check could make up for the return to power in Europe, on the pretext of rearmament, of the old Nazi *cadres* which, fortified by their experience with a first 'crusade', are presenting their candidacy for the one that seems to be in preparation" in the US.

Of all the statesmen Dulles met in Europe, Germany's Konrad Adenauer was most in accord with Eisenhower on EDC. Yet polls taken in Germany between last February and December showed a steady rise in the preference for a national, rather than an EDC army—and in the military age group, 18 to 24, the proportion of those against *any* army rose from 49 to 53 percent. In Italy, the *Quotidiano*, on behalf of Dr. Luigi Gedda, head of Catholic Action, spoke up against EDC, in opposition to Eisenhower's second-best European friend, Alcide de Gasperi. But the unkindest cut of all was the appointment by the French National Assembly, as the *rapporteurs* of its foreign affairs and defense committees on the EDC, of the Socialist Jules Moch and the Gaullist General Koenig, both opponents of the scheme in its present form.

If, as Eisenhower said, "the needed unity of Western Europe . . . can only be created from within," then, as the *Times* points out, "the criterion for success for Western Europe in its effort to achieve close co-operation is that each successive stage should serve a necessary purpose and have the backing of public opinion in each country concerned." Winning a battle of political warfare on Capitol Hill is not such a purpose; and a psychological warfare initiative pinned to freedom of the Chiang variety cannot expect the backing of opinion anywhere in Europe.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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CHINA—US BLOCKADE OR UN EMBARGO?

by John J. Sparkman

COMMITTED to "act" in Asia, the Republican Administration deneutralized Formosa. Since Chiang Kai-shek will be incapable of more than pin-prick raids for some two years, that order seems more a gesture than an act. Yet it did have one immediate effect: It opened the door to those partisans of all-out war with China who urge us to bomb Manchuria, then to blockade, bomb and eventually invade the Chinese mainland.

Of these proposals one is said to be receiving serious consideration: Blockade. On February 10, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles termed such discussion "premature," and General of the Army Omar Bradley expressed sentiments which recalled his testimony at the MacArthur hearings that a blockade of Red China would lead to "the wrong war at the wrong time in the wrong place." Fortunately, an alternative—strict embargo by the United Nations—has been suggested and is receiving considerable attention. It is, consequently, important for the Senate and for the nation to assess the effects of these alternatives, and to realize the precise context in which either course of action would function.

On May 18, 1951, the United Nations General Assembly requested its members no longer to provide Red China with anything that might contribute directly to her military strength. Red China's seaborne imports now amount to less than 50 percent of her total imports. The exact figure is in dispute, but is probably in the vicinity of 35 percent.

Between 60 and 80 non-Communist vessels and approximately 25 Communist vessels of over 1,000 tons touch Chinese ports in an average month, some of these go in empty, to load. Polish ships carry the bulk of Communist cargoes. Free-world cargoes are mainly carried by ships of British, Pakistani, Norwegian or Greek registry.

The essential characteristic of this trade is that it *does not*, to any appreciable extent, include heavy military or capital-goods equipment. Tanks, guns, aircraft, trucks, etc., all enter Red China over the Trans-Siberian railroad. Free-world shipping is restricted to such cargoes as fertilizer, dyes and low-grade metals. And although satellite shipping carries such strategic goods as high-speed tools, oil and tin-plate whenever possible, the bulk of its cargoes are identical to those shipped under embargo. Polish ships, for example, following the long, long route from Gdynia on the Baltic, past Denmark and England, down to and through the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the China Sea to Tientsin, must and do behave like tramp freighters of any nation, picking up and discharging profitable cargoes wherever they can.

Still, whatever strategic goods these ships can deliver are important to Red China's efforts to industrialize. Of prime importance among these goods is oil.

There is a world shortage of tankers and probably no more than five tankers, all Communist, are regularly in the China trade. While most dry cargoes are destined to Tientsin, oil for China usually originates at Constanta, Bulgaria, on the Black Sea, and is discharged at Dairen, some 200 miles from the Yalu River and Korea. Dairen has excellent storage facilities and is situated on a trunk line of the Manchurian railroad connecting the Trans-Siberian railroad with North China.

In addition to overseas trade, there is a vast amount of coastal shipping operating along China's 2,500 mile coastline, and up to Vladivostok in Russia—small ships and motorized junks. All this trade, both overseas and coastal, is important to Red China because of the considerable progress she has made toward developing an industrial base in Manchuria and North China prior to her intervention in Korea. The UN embargo has all but halted development of that base, shutting off what trade remains would probably cause its deterioration.

The context in which blockade or strict embargo would function, then, is this: Red China *is not* dependent upon overseas trade for either the life-essentials of her people or the war-essentials of her armies. Strangling her trade would neither cause immediate hardship to her people nor stop an army in the field, or one in motion toward Indo-China. But strangulation *would* cause Red China serious long-range damage by threatening her industrial ambitions. She would stand to lose all she has painfully accomplished in that line. And she would be thrown heavily upon Russia.

Two questions, terribly important and as yet unanswered, immediately follow: Would this result in friction between Red China and Russia, or closer ties and an eventually insurmountable dependence? And would the people of Red China become dissatisfied with the sacrifice and its leaders more amenable to a peace-settlement, or would its people react as did the English under Nazi bombardment and its leaders become more adamant than ever?

John J. Sparkman, Senator from Alabama, was the Democratic candidate for Vice-President in 1952.

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Such questions, of course, can only be answered by hind-sight. We can only determine which result we deem more probable and act accordingly. If, as seems likely, we gamble upon the weakening and divisive influence of trade stoppage, we must then choose between blockade and embargo.

If the US chooses unilateral blockade we shall have to take the consequences alone—that is the all-determining factor in such a choice. If blockade should lead to the "wrong war at the wrong time in the wrong place," neither under the United Nations Charter nor under the North Atlantic Pact is any nation whatsoever bound to come to our aid. On the other hand, Russia is bound by treaty to aid Red China in such an eventuality. We should, then, find ourselves on the edge of a third world war without allies. More, in order to effect a blockade, we should have to draw from both our Atlantic and Mediterranean, as well as from our "moth-ball," fleets. With the bulk of our ground-forces already deployed at opposite ends of the world—in Germany and Korea—this would seem highly dangerous.

And if Red China avoided war we should still meet crucial problems *vis à vis* Russia. Vladivostok has the same railroad connections with Manchuria and North China as have Dairen and Port Arthur. Ships bound for either of the latter, or for Tientsin, could continue to Vladivostok; and Russian ships, as well as Chinese ships placed under Russian registry, could put out from there for Red China. Do we blockade Vladivostok, refusing entry to satellite shipping, and do we fire upon Russian ships putting out for, presumably, Red China?

I think, I at least hope, not. Consequently, the most we can expect from blockade is to put such a burden upon the Manchurian railroad system, which seems to have no surplus of cargo handling and carrying capacity, that delay and shrinkage will seriously damage the industrial base of Red China and hamper troop and equipment movements to Korea. But even this effect would be weakened if we did not extend our blockade to British Hong-Kong, which exports ordinary commodities to Red China in order to feed its two million inhabitants, and to Portuguese Macau, which lives upon the transhipment of goods. To so extend it would be all but impossible.

It is possible, of course, that we could convince the UN to institute a multilateral blockade. Such a proposition would meet with considerable opposition, especially from Far and Near Eastern countries. If we succeeded, in spite of this opposition, in getting such action, some of the dangers described above, especially those of division, would be avoided. But not all. The danger that Red China, faced with blockade, would drive south toward the warm-water ports of Indo-China, Siam, Burma and Malaya would be as strong as ever. And, again, the entire job would fall on the American Navy supported by whatever allied units are already in Asia.

The question then is: Can the alternative and easier course—embargo—affect results equal to, while avoiding the dangers of blockade?

UN members would probably be more willing to intensify the embargo than to institute a blockade. A strict United Nations embargo would, first, cut-off that percentage of Chinese imports carried by free-world shipping—75 percent. Here is a considerable and immediate result which can be attained with a minimum of ill-will among our allies and with no danger of spreading the war. As for the remaining 25 percent carried by satellite vessels, a strict UN embargo would imply the right to patrol and to enforce the will of the majority upon the dissenting minority persisting in Chinese trade. And there would be no need to strengthen our naval forces around China: Satellite shipping bound for Red China must pass through thousands of miles of Western-controlled waters and can be detained anywhere along that route—the Suez Canal or the Strait of Malacca, for example. If shipping were shifted to Vladivostok, the results would be no less than those accruing from blockade, and there would be far greater freedom of action against ships putting out from Vladivostok to Red China. Russia and its satellites would be far less willing to declare war upon a tightly united United Nations than upon a US which could only count upon the grudging support of allies coming in late and from strict necessity, eager to end the conflict at any time and at the expense of the nation they held primarily responsible for it. And, aside from the question of possible war, there is the question of workability. A nation such as Pakistan, for example, which has received "Political rice" from Red China in times of famine and which sells important amounts of cotton to the Chinese textile industry, could probably be talked into co-operating with a UN embargo; she would resent, protest and, whenever possible, violate a US blockade.

There is, of course, danger in either course. But there is infinitely less danger in UN action which would at once strengthen the sentiment of unity and equal standing among its members, and present aggressor nations with a multilateral front, than there is in US action which would divide the United Nations as nothing yet has, and invite aggressor nations to attack splintered, mutually antagonistic nations of the free world.

A United Nations embargo would hurt Red China and Russia while strengthening the free world; a US blockade might goad and tempt Red China to action they may not want while weakening the free world.

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ONE-PARTY TELEVISION, TOO?

by Jean Begeman

WHEN ADOLPH ZUKOR, pioneer Paramount movie producer, celebrated his 80th birthday on January 8, he was quoted as advising his colleagues in the film industry to "marry television and make it your own while you can." Several of the nation's top theatre owners who were present at his birthday party fidgeted as Zukor amplified his remark:

> Television is a form of entertainment and that makes it our business. The sooner we get at our business, the better. If we handle this situation in the right way the film business can go on to bigger and better things. A great future lies ahead of us and we must not try to look back.

On February 8—one month later to the day—the Federal Communications Commission announced the marriage of American Broadcasting Company and United Paramount Theatres, Inc. The New York *Times* called this TV-motion-picture union "the biggest transaction in broadcasting history" and forecast that the FCC's split decision, five to two, "clears the way for a big, new entertainment enterprise to be known as the American Broadcasting-Paramount Theatres, Inc. (AB-PT)."

No one would deny that this was a marriage of convenience. ABC during its television lifetime has been unable to match NBC and CBS talent and programming for financial reasons; United Paramount Theatres, Inc., with $35 million to invest, has become increasingly aware of the inverse ratio of movie-goers to television antennas.

At the same time that the FCC permitted ABC to merge with United Paramount, the Commission held that Paramount Pictures Corporation (a separate corporation from United Paramount) does control the DuMont Television Network. The FCC's decision completes an interesting cycle: In 1948 the Supreme Court in an antitrust action forced Paramount Theatres to break from Paramount Pictures. The final separation took place in 1950. Now, in 1953, each party to the separation owns or controls a television network—and since there are only four TV networks (NBC, CBS, ABC, and DuMont), that means half of the entire television industry.

The majority of the FCC not only skimmed over the past antitrust history of the Paramount sisters, but concluded that the combination of movie and theatre ownership with television might even bring about greater competition in the two industries, might "influence AB-PT to promote vigorously its activities in each medium (since) failure to do so in any one medium would be of a more direct advantage to competitors in that medium than it would be to AB-PT units in another medium."

Commissioners Frieda B. Hennock, who along with E. M. Webster, dissented, considered the question in light of the ever-growing concentration of mass-media in this country. Miss Hennock charges that the effect of the merger would be substantially to lessen competition and to create monopoly in the TV and motion-picture industry and was, in fact, in violation of Section 7 of the Clayton Act. By approving the AB-PT merger, she said in her dissent, "the Commission has smashed—often beyond repair—precedents, procedures and policies which have carefully been built up over the years of its regulatory process."

The merger, Miss Hennock believes, cuts straight across much of the vast range of our system of mass-media of communications "with their acknowledged deep influence upon our national individual lives and well-being."

AB-PT now controls five television stations, six FM and six AM stations, 650 theatres—the largest single theatre chain—in 297 communities, and, through affiliation, has 298 radio outlets and 59 TV outlets. "The harmful effect of a merger between the largest motion-picture theatre chain and the third largest television and radio network upon the level of competition in broadcasting and motion-picture exhibition is the basic defect," Miss Hennock said. And she emphasized a simple, self-evident economic fact that the Commission largely overlooked: there is strong competition for *audience* and *product* such as films and talent between TV and motion-picture exhibition.

Producer Zukor's "if you can't lick 'em join 'em" philosophy is evidence that the motion-picture industry has suffered from TV competition. Recently Hollywood has had a great crusade for "high quality pictures," and movie ad men are trying hard to convince the public that "movies are better than ever." Why this new intellectual approach when the old "cowboy" Class B and "murder" Class C movies spelled huge profits in the past? Because any kid with a TV set can switch from channel to channel and get from one to three cowboy episodes and/or a murder or two. Paramount Pictures' production and distribution profits, before taxes, of $25 million in postwar 1946 dropped to $4 million in 1950. It will be interesting to watch the great competitive battle between AB and PT which the FCC majority assures

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us will take place now that AB-PT is one. Miss Hennock believes that the result will be to smother "the free interplay of competitive economic forces within and between these entire fields of broadcasting and motion-picture exhibition" and to hamper the maximum development of each.

"The merger," said Miss Hennock, "establishes a huge combine of multi-media economic power against which other television networks and stations will find it difficult to compete on any basis even approaching fairness and equality." For example, AB-PT now has a massive purchasing power for films (Paramount Theatre's present expenditures for film rentals is $30 million per year) and will be able to make its presence felt against its telecasting competitors. PT, through its newly formed subsidiary Paramount Television Productions Company, has already announced that it would immediately launch upon the production of films for television on an extensive scale. This "power of volume" available to the merged company, Miss Hennock points out, will give it a decided advantage not only to the film suppliers but also will help obtain and keep TV station affiliates for its network operations since films are a vital component of TV programming.

The development of three-dimension pictures such as cinerama are indications that the movie producers hope to compete with television. Just in case the public isn't thrilled by such new techniques, Hollywood producers are working equally hard on such projects as Paramount Pictures' "Telemeter," the televising of new movies through a subscription system, and color television.

The FCC majority, in an apparent attempt to cleanse Paramount Theatres of its past sins, struck out all evidence of antitrust violations prior to August, 1948, which, in effect, reduced much of the record "to an almost complete nullity," said Miss Hennock. For example, by excluding the "Scophony matter," the majority closed its eyes to the fact that in the early 1940s Paramount and others were charged in a suit with suppressing the use, development and exploitation of certain patents—including patents *vital to the birth of television.* Paramount had been a most serious antitrust offender. In a footnote to her dissent, Miss Hennock remarks:

> In addition to the large number of antitrust suits [531] filed against Paramount over the years, it should be noted that Supreme Court condemnation of Paramount's restrictive practices in motion-picture exhibition was unusually sharp in tone. The Court repeatedly spoke of a "proclivity" for violations and concluded that clearer restraints [on competition] are hard to imagine."

She believes compliance with antitrust laws is vital in determining if transfer of licences serve the "public interest, convenience and necessity." Because of Paramount's history, there was particular need to make an extensive examination of both Paramount Pictures Corporation and United Paramount Theatres, Inc. with respect to possible antitrust violations.

The adverse effects of a combination of vast motion-picture interests with broadcasting networks, Miss Hennock said, should have made it abundantly clear "that such a combination would not serve the public interest." Through its control of DuMont, Paramount Pictures Corporation—with three owned-and-operated stations and affiliations in 60 of the 63 cities having TV stations at the time of the hearing—has achieved just such a combination. Miss Hennock charges that, "It should not be allowed to stand any more than the proposed AB-PT merger should be permitted creation."

The amalgamation of motion pictures and television that appears certain to come about cannot help but hamper the maximum development of television as a most powerful medium in its own right.

> Commission action on this merger [as Miss Hennock said] establishes a firm precedent that largely binds its future actions. And there would seem to be no sound basis upon which the Commission could permit UPT substantial entree into television (as well as find Paramount Pictures fully qualified to be a licensee) and later refuse similar applications by other motion-picture exhibitors and producers.

Miss Hennock sees this merger as a forerunner for other similar vast concentrations of control over the mass-media. "This must result in depositing control of these media in fewer and more powerful hands. And here, it should be noted, would be included not only additional motion-picture exhibition and production interests, but also other economic giants in the fields of mass-media."

This danger can already be seen in the large number of newspapers which are now television-station owners—and most of them in one-newspaper, one-TV cities. According to *Television Factbook* (January 16, 1953) 46 daily newspapers, mostly in large cities, own or have an interest in one or more television stations. This does not include the "multiple ownerships" of the big newspaper chains such as the Cox Newspapers, two stations; Scripps-Howard Newspapers, three stations; Chicago *Tribune* and New York *News*, two stations; and Hearst Corporation, two stations. In addition, such publications as *Better Homes & Gardens*, *Time*, Inc., and The Arkansas *Valley Journal* have their own stations.

What if the Associated Press should decide to merge with NBC? We would then have the most powerful news wire service, the largest radio and television network in a position to decide what programs, entertainers and political commentators are "in the public interest."

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Miss Hennock sees the threat in this way:

Today we open a vast Pandora's Box, one forbidding in aspect and one that will not easily be shut again. Our action here encourages the drying up of the well-springs of diversification. It may possibly forecast the bleak day of complete elimination of the small or moderately sized and fully independent operator from all of the broadcasting, particularly television. I do not believe we should so hazard the loss of such an important element of our broadcasting service.

THE TV PROFITEERS

FOR 50 years I have seen the trend toward the one-party press under which more than 80 percent of the newspapers in the United States have become the spokesmen for the powerful financial and economic interests that now control government. This explains why we have a press today that can burst out into front-page headlines over a mink coat or a deep freeze in one administration and remain indifferent and silent in another administration when the oil interests seek to grab oil reserves belonging to all the people and valued at more than $100 billion.

Today we have a new scientific marvel in the field of mass communication that will play a tremendous part in shaping public opinion. Unfortunately, there are signs that television, too, is headed toward a one-party status and will become another formidable ally of the entrenched economic order in shaping public opinion. Some months ago the *Capital Times* printed a list of 108 television licenses that had been granted up to that time. Only three out of 108 licensees has ever been associated with any coloration of liberalism. That's one-party television with a vengeance.

A scandal of national proportions is in the making in the trafficking and profiteering in television and radio licenses. I lay down the rule that it is immoral and against public policy for any person, fortunate enough to be granted a television license, to take that license out into the open market and sell it at a huge profit, as is being so widely done today.

Here are some of the deals that have recently taken place in the transfers of television licenses to big interests.

1. Radio Cincinnati, owned by the Taft family interests, recently purchased television station WTVN, Columbus, Ohio, for $1.5 million. Hulbert Taft, a cousin of Senator Taft, is the president of Radio Cincinnati. Television men will tell you that the permit held by the Columbus station was a primary consideration in the $1.5 million price.

2. *Broadcasting* magazine announced a week ago the merger of General Teleradio, owner of WOR-TV, New York, with the Thomas Lee Enterprises. It was announced that the deal had the collateral effect of placing control of Mutual Broadcasting System with the General Tire and Rubber Company. The transaction involves payment to the giant Macy department store of $3.85 million.

3. Recently the Washington *Post*, owned by Eugene Meyer, who was the head of the federal reserve system during the Hoover Administration bought WMBR-TV, Jacksonville, Fla., for $2.47 million. Again it was obvious that the television permit held by the Jacksonville company was the big consideration in the deal.

4. The Meredith Publishing Company of Des Moines, Ia.; publisher of *Successful Farming* and other publications that supported Eisenhower, recently bought the radio and television properties of WOW at Omaha for $2.525 million. A year ago the Meredith interests bought KPHO-TV at Phoenix, Ariz., for $1.5 million. The Meredith interests also own WHEN-TV at Syracuse, N. Y., and are applying for TV stations in Albany and Rochester. Such multiple ownership of TV stations is against public policy.

5. A year ago it was announced that Time, Inc., owner of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune* magazines, ardent supporters of General Eisenhower in the last campaign, had acquired the television and radio properties of KOB at Albuquerque, N. M., for $900,000. At the time the deal was announced, it was stated that Wayne Coy, chairman of the FCC which had granted the television license to the Albuquerque station, had resigned to become a partner with Time, Inc., in its entrance into the television field. Again it was clear that the television license held by the Albuquerque station played a big part in determining the price that was paid for the station.

These deals are indicative of what is to come as interests that have millions of dollars at their command gradually take over television and make it, along with the press, the radio and the movies, a one-party spokesman for financial and economic power. Congress should consider a proposal that will prohibit trafficking and profiteering in any right or privilege granted by government. There is a good way to stop the practice under which control of television is being knocked down to the highest bidder. Whenever a radio or television station is sold, the sale must be approved by the FCC. We believe that the FCC should not approve any sale where it is evident that the television permit granted by the Commission is a consideration in the sale. Here is a good place to start the great moral crusade which was promised in the last campaign. The FCC or Congress should also look into the growing concentration of ownership in one opinion group.

The FCC faces the grave responsibility of making television an instrumentality that will serve the public interest rather than private interest. Are not radio stations each night compelled to sign off with this statement: "This station is operated in the public interest, convenience and necessity." – WILLIAM T. EVJUE, *Editor and Publisher*, Capital Times, *Madison, Wis.*

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1954: THE IKE PARTY FIGHTS TO LIVE

by E. E. Schattschneider

WHATEVER else the Republican Party is likely to discover in the next four years it is certain to learn that the whole base of its political support has been altered beyond recognition since the last time it was victorious in a Presidential election.

To understand what has happened to the Republican Party it is necessary to see, first, what kind of a political alignment has been created in the United States in recent elections. Everything about the party system, including the nature of party responsibility, *is related to the direction and scope of the political cleavages exploited by the system*. The most important single fact about the party system is the way in which the parties divide the people. On the direction and scope of these cleavages depend the locus of power in the political system, the extent of popular participation in politics, the kinds of alternatives of public policy developed by the system, the nature of party organization and leadership, the relation between the parties and the government, and the capacity of the public to hold the parties responsible for what they do. The responsibility of the Republican Party today must be examined in the light of this proposition.

Broadly speaking there are two possible patterns of conflict about which the parties are able to organize the country. First, people may be divided according to their location on the map by aligning voters on the basis of residence, exploiting tensions along regional or geographical lines. This is the sectional pattern which has traditionally dominated American politics. The Solid South is the prime contemporary illustration of this kind of alignment.

On the other hand it is possible to divide the electorate on *national* lines that cut across the whole traditional sectional pattern of politics and produce alignments national in scope dividing people into opposing parties regardless of residence. A moment's reflection will show that these systems of antagonism are in the highest degree incompatible with each other. Nothing about politics is more important than the identification of the dominant pattern of cleavage at any given time, for everything else depends on it.

To understand what is now going on in American politics it is necessary to see first what has happened to the general direction and scope of the basic line of division between Republicans and Democrats in recent decades and then to see what effect, if any, the election of 1952 has had on the alignment.

The alignment of American politics from 1896 to 1932 was dominated by the conservative reaction to the Populist movement, a reaction that took the form of two powerful sectional, one-party oligarchies, one in the South and the other in the North. On the one hand, Populist raids on the South frightened Southern conservatives into a one-party organization of politics which isolated local agrarian radicals and strangled them in a tight regional monopoly of power. On the other hand, Bryan's conversion to Populism in 1896 drove Northern business into the arms of the Republican Party. The business-Republican coalition became dominant in the Republican Party at the national level because the Western wing of the party was isolated by the development of the Solid South and had no place else to go. Thereafter business Republicanism became virtually sovereign as a more or less automatic consequence of the sectional alignment by which the opposition was divided and isolated in a widespread system of one-party areas in which most Americans were deprived of organized political alternatives.

The locus of power within the Republican Party from McKinley to Hoover, the dominance of the government by the Republican Party, the extreme conservatism of Republican policy, the nature of Republican organization, and the nature of the public responsibility of the party were determined by the fact that an extreme development of sectionalism produced one-party areas all over the country. The impact of the alignment on American politics was increased tremendously by the fact that it was both stable and unequal, placing two-thirds of the states, including all of the most populous areas in the Republican camp. As long as it was possible to maintain this division of the country, the Republican Party won elections automatically, or almost automatically, and was almost certain to remain in power permanently. Under this arrangement political power gravitated into the hands of the people who already had economic power, and the government of the United States became the most conservative in the Western world.

The nakedness of the irresponsible power exercised by the Republian Party in the North was concealed to some

E. E. Schattschneider, Professor of Government at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., is chairman of the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association, which produced the widely acclaimed report entitled Toward A More Responsible Two-Party System.

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extent by the fact that it went through the motions of competing with the Democratic Party in the national and local elections but the challenge of the opposition was largely a fiction. Senator Penrose in Pennsylvania, and other Republican bosses elsewhere, exercised powers not greatly unlike those held until recently by King Farouk in Egypt.

The dominance of the Republican Party in the North and West was not as perfect as was that of the Democratic Party in the South, but it was effective enough to give Republicans a virtual monopoly of power. Party competition was real in the border states and occasionally in New York, Indiana and Ohio, but usually it was hopelessly one-sided elsewhere. The extent to which the Republican Party was able to exploit the sectional alignment to govern the country is suggested by the fact that in 1904 less than one-seventh of the population of the US lived in states in which the major parties contested the election on relatively equal terms, while in 1920 only about 12 million out of 105 million Americans lived in states in which they had a valuable party alternative.

The Republican Party proved that it is unnecessary to extinguish the opposition to maintain a sectional monopoly of politics. Under the American system of elections an opposition party polling only about one-third of the votes is likely to win few important officers and very little power or patronage. The demoralized kind of opposition likely to result from this kind of distribution of the vote can usually be brought into bipartisan local arrangements under which the choices offered by the system become nominal.

The effectiveness of the Republican monopoly in the 31 states outside of the South and the Border is shown by the fact that (discounting the three-party election of 1912 and a few residues of the Populist movement in the West in 1896 and 1900) the Democrats carried only 19 states out of a possible total of 226 from 1896 to 1932. On the average the Democrats carried these states a little less than once every 40 years. The difference between a nine-to-one and a two-to-one ratio of the popular vote is not great *provided only that the ratio is stable.*

The least that can be said of the Republican monopoly in large areas of the North after 1896 is that it was about as effective as the Democratic system in Southern states such as Virginia and North Carolina. The bad reputation of the Republican Party in American history resulted from the fact that for a generation it held irresponsible power under an alignment that made it nearly impossible to turn it out of power.

It is necessary to recall the nature of the political alignment of which the long Republican tenure of power before 1932 was based in order to understand what is now happening in American politics.

The resolution of 1932 deserves to be called a revolution because it destroyed something very much like a permanent lease of power. The election of 1932 was no ordinary election, therefore, and the overthrow of the Republican Party in 1932 no ordinary alternation of the parties in power. What the elections of the 1930s accomplished was to *substitute a national political alignment for an extreme sectional alignment everywhere in the country except in the South.* Graphically the nationalization of American politics can be seen in the flattening of the curve showing the percentage distribution of the major party vote outside of the South. Translated into statistics the flattening of the curve can be expressed in terms of the percentage of the major party vote polled by the Democratic Party in each of the states, taking into account the deviation from 50 percent in each case. (That is, 44 percent and 55 percent are counted as six-percent and five-percent deviations respectively.) In 1908, a typical pre-1932 election year, in 29 states in the North and West (excluding Arizona and New Mexico which did not vote) the Democratic percentage of the major party vote deviated a total of 283.8 points from 50 percent. In 1928 the total deviation was 312.1. By 1944, however, the figure had declined to 124 points. In other words the 1944 curve was almost three times as flat as the 1928 curve. Related to this development is a sharp decline in the number of one-party states in the North and West. Thus in 1944, outside of the South and the Border, the Democratic Party polled more than 60 percent or less than 40 percent of the major party vote in only two states. As a matter of fact a shift of three percent of the major party vote would have changed the result in 17 of the 29 states in this area.

The election of 1948 follows the pattern set in the earlier elections of the New Deal era. The figures suggest that these elections were decided on the basis of influences and factors at work on a national scale producing a very great extension of the area of effective political competition.

Against this background, what did the election of 1952 do to the party alignment? It did nothing to reverse the nationalizing tendency of American politics and gave no indication whatever of a tendency to return to the old sectional pattern of politics. General Eisenhower's vote showed increases over Governor Dewey's vote in every state in the Union and showed less than a six-percent increase in only four states. Indeed, General Eisenhower's success in the South can properly be described only as an *extension* of the nationalization of

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politics. Whatever else may be said about the election it was dominated by national influences. The political trend that first appeared in the earliest returns from the Atlantic seaboard on the evening of November 4 were maintained in the returns from all other parts of the country. General Eisenhower won a national victory in the fullest possible sense of the word. *The direction and the scope of the political cleavage has remained stable in spite of the party turn over. As a consequence of the election of 1952, we are for the first time in American history within sight of a competitive two-party system in 48 states.*

If there is any truth at all in the proposition that American politics has become a contest between the people who have the money and the people who have the votes, the new horizontal, national party cleavage is likely to be tremendously advantageous to the common people of the country.

The democratic potentialities of the extension of the area of party competition are incalculably great. The impact of the new dimension of politics on the party system is likely to be equally great because the parties alone are able to mobilize large numbers of voters on a national scale.

The strategy of both of the major parties is likely to be influenced by the new alignment. Within the Republican Party Senator Taft's importance as a political leader depends on some kind of understanding with the Southern Bourbons in Congress. On the other hand, General Eisenhower's invasion of the Solid South foreshadows a disturbing Republican policy in the Southern states tending to undermine one of the bases of Taft's power.

The Southern policy of an Eisenhower Republican Party is apt therefore, to differ from the much more conventional Taft policy of tacit support of the Southern one-party system. Even if we suppose that the differences between the two wings of the Republican Party have been primarily strategic, it is now evident that the differences between a national and a sectional strategy involve important differences in the policy and management of politics.

The Solid South has unquestionably been the principal obstacle to the development of a responsible party system in the United States. While it is impossible to calculate accurately the rate of change in the South itself, it is probably fair to say that both major parties have now acquired an interest in breaking up the old structure of Southern politics.

In its 1952 National Convention the Democratic Party has indicated what is likely to be its new Southern policy. Of the Democratic Convention it can be said, first, that the question was taken to the proper tribunal, the National Convention, which qualifies by virtue of the fact that it is the supreme governing body of the party. Moreover, the Convention took jurisdiction of the matter. The institution, the power, and the precedents for making a Southern policy have therefore been set up. Taken with the Vice-Presidential nomination of Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama and the subsequent development of the campaign in the South, the action of the Convention seems to foreshadow a new policy contemplating a two-party struggle for power in the South.

The future of the Solid South is not exclusively a Southern question. As one looks back on American politics since the turn of the century the interdependence of the Solid South and the Solid North becomes apparent. The corollary of the interdependence of the two wings of the sectional structure of politics is the idea that the destruction of one is likely to weaken the other fatally.

The new distribution of the popular support of the major parties has created a political base for a responsible party system. What use is made of the new situation depends largely on how the Democratic Party conceives its role. For this task of definition and redefinition we must look to the liberal intellectuals who are able to furnish the ideas, the theoretical base, and the rationalizations needed to exploit the potentialities of the new politics. Under the circumstances liberals might attempt to understand better than they have in the past that there are liberal ideas as well as anti-liberal ideas about the uses and the role of the party system.

Arthur Krock, who is not a liberal Democrat, has outlined in the New York *Times* the party strategy he thinks the Democratic Party should follow in the opposition. In his campaign to persuade the Democratic Party to return to the passive role it played before 1932, Mr. Krock has the support of a school of professional political scientists who tend to think that the pressure groups are the highest form of political organization of which Americans are capable. Unfortunately, however, in the most important political conflicts of our time the bias of the pressure system is inevitably on the side of the owners of economic power.

The party system, not the special-interest pressure group, is the form of political organization through which the common man is most likely to get what he wants. Isn't it about time for liberals to discover that they have a stake in the debate about the nature of the party system? The success with which the liberal wing of the Democratic Party exploits the present situation depends largely on its ability to distinguish between the opposing concepts of the function of the party system.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE ROAD TO RUIN

by Robert Evett

FOR THOSE OF US who feel that opera must, or at least should, be classical in form and spirit, the mere fact that the Metropolitan has at last produced an opera by Stravinsky is a tremendous moral victory, outweighing the merits of the piece itself and tending to disarm criticism.

Based on a libretto by W. H. Auden and Chester Kallman, *The Rake's Progress* is a classical opera, as pure in form as *Don Giovanni* and perhaps even more tightly contrived. That is to say, it is a work composed of "numbers"—arias, cavatinas, duets and other set pieces linked together by stylized, sung recitation. The language is rhetoric or rhymed verse, and the characters have a purely symbolic reality. The situations in which they find themselves are improbable, and their behaviour is totally unnatural. This means that the singers have a chance to sing in a beautiful formal way, to show off their voices, and to cavort around in a singular fanciful manner.

By its nature, this kind of opera has to be built on lyrical, rather than incantatory or declamatory, vocal style. For the greater part of his career, Stravinsky has worked with the melody of incantation, a type of melody which is tremendously effective in a work like the *Symphony of Psalms*, but is not suited to a work of this kind. In order to write *The Rake*, he has had to augment his melodic technique tremendously. Some of the rounder lines in this work have a sweetness reminiscent of Rossini and come dangerously close to cloying sentimentality. Others, in which the prosody is wrenched, have an almost expressionistic angularity. The lack of melodic consistency gives the piece variety, but one feels that a livelier melodic imagination would serve the needs of classical opera better.

In its over-all form, the music is much more successful. Lightly scored, it is consistently transparent in texture. The harmony, as usual, is very economical. Stravinsky employs a minimum of notes, little modulation; he acquires variety by fleet rhythm, hints of polytonality, gentle dissonance, and unprepared change of key. He confines himself largely to A, major and minor, G major, E minor, C, F and B flat major. The reiterated use of these few keys, (reminiscent of Mozart,) coupled with the repetition of melodic materials, takes on almost symbolic character in the work, as if A major were associated with Virtue. Love with F, and so on. The identification of tonality with situation is so consistent here that it surely must have been contrived. The tonal organization of *The Rake* is a condensation of the classical method, and very effective indeed.

The great value of the straight-forward style in which the opera is cast is that it gives the listener no trouble at all. Stravinsky's instinct for the theatre seems to be infallible. In this work, he seems to be working for an over-all effect of levity, brightness and charm, an effect which is only heightened by scenes with tragic implications. Over-analysis tends to defeat the purposes of the music, which is to amuse and please rather than to instruct. As the classical composers excelled all others in producing a certain kind of light, witty music, a music most appropriate to this kind of opera, it is Stravinsky's wit that has added a classic spirit to *The Rake's* already classical form.

In the libretto, Auden and Kallman use operatic convention as the basis of fantastic contrivance. There is nothing new about leading an operatic tenor down the primrose path to hell, or in this case, to insanity and death, warbling away the whole time. But to throw him into the arms of a prostitute named Mother Goose or into marriage with a bearded lady is, I think, new. One is constantly reminded of *The Dog Beneath the Skin*, the Auden-Isherwood play that seems to be the direct ancestor of this libretto. The diction, the alternation between beautiful poetry and engaging nonsense verse, is much the same. The triumph of fantasy in the piece is probably the auction scene, in which the bearded lady, buried in a peruke, is mistaken for an *objet d'art* and sold to the highest bidder, while her husband, in the street, sings:

> Old wives for sale!
> Old wives for sale!
> Sharp wives, dull wives,
> Silly wives, grim wives,
> Old wives for sale!

A lot of the nonsense and also the beauty of the text was, I'm afraid, lost at the Metropolitan. Mack Harrell, as Nick Shadow—the devil incarnate—sang well, with perfect diction, and comported himself wonderfully on stage. Blanche Thebom, as the bearded lady, had a fine time and was very, very funny, but affected a raucous, rasping voice which was, I think, unnecessary; a more conservative bearded lady would have sung better. The rest of the cast seemed self-conscious, a little embarrassed, and scared to death of making some horrendous mistake and stopping the show. As the Rake, Eugene Conley swallowed so many of his words that he might as well have been singing in Esperanto. Sometimes, with a mediocre libretto, this is a blessing; but the *Rake* has a great libretto, one of the best there is, and every word of it should be clearly heard.

The production is a delight of sheer extravagance, with five vast, elaborate decors by Horace Armistead (drawn, as is the libretto, from Hogarth's *Rake* series,) and is about as sumptuous as anything you would want to see. George Balanchine has given the piece a brilliant staging, contrived to fit the spirit of classical artifice. The orchestra, under Frizt Reiner's traditionally sensitive

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direction, is magnificent as usual.

I would like to know why the Metropolitan has gone to such tremendous expense for a Stravinsky opera, as no new work which has been introduced into the repertory of that theatre during the past twenty-five years has managed to stay there, despite the enthusiastic responses of the press and public. *Peter Grimes* is a recent and memorable example of a work that succeeded *and* failed at the Met. If Mr. Bing really means to change the ways of his theatre by establishing much-needed modern works in the repertory, he would do much to relieve our concern by reviving *The Rake* in the coming season and the next. He would do well to give a long look at the operas of Piston, Sessions, Vaughan Williams, Hindemith, Honegger and Milhaud. Most of their operas are more inventive, musically, than *The Rake*, and any one of them would cheer up the Metropolitan season considerably.

MR. AND MRS. LINCOLN

MARY LINCOLN: *Biography of a Marriage*, by Ruth Painter Randall (Little, Brown; $5.75).

LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT: *Midstream* by J. G. Randall (Dodd, Mead; $7.50).

PUBLICATION of J. G. Randall's first two volumes convinced critics generally that here would be the most scholarly life of Lincoln ever written; and *Midstream*, the third volume, buttresses that opinion. But, to borrow the cigarette man's slogan, "something new has been added" to the smooth progression of this work; for Ruth Painter Randall is the wife of the Illinois historian, has shared his interest in Lincoln from the beginning and has been a research assistant who has risen, one suspects, almost if not quite to the range of a collaborator. But Mary Todd, who married Lincoln, caught her attention and absorbed it more and more, until in the end she had to write about this unfortunate woman.

This is not exactly the way Mrs. Randall puts it, but the internal evidence is enough to sustain the assertion that with her it was a case of write or risk apoplexy; so the appearance of the two volumes within a few weeks of each other offers a rare opportunity for a comparison of values. No rational man questions the value of scholarship to a biographer, but here is an indication that wrath may be an asset, too; at least nothing will convince this unregenerate critic that Mrs. Randall would have written as well if she had been less angry, and if she hadn't been angry at all she wouldn't have written at all; which would have been a loss to American letters.

Dr. Randall's *Lincoln*, to be sure, is far removed from pedantry; it has grace, as well as scholarship, and is an interpretation as warmly human as Sandburg's. But *Mary Lincoln* has the advantage of the Randall scholarship plus thunder and lightning; scholars cannot shrug it off, for it is too well documented, while the unschooled will receive it with glad cries because it flames.

What set Mrs. Randall's teeth on edge was William H. Herndon's treatment of Lincoln's wife in the biography that Herndon published in 1887. It was scandalous, beyond a doubt. Herndon not only included every fragment of malicious gossip he could find, but drew upon his imagination when documentary or even oral evidence failed. For one thing, he seems to have invented the Ann Rutledge story; all that is certainly true is that there was a young woman of that name whose early death saddened Lincoln along with everybody else in the community. On this slender foundation Herndon erected the myth of a romance that haunted Lincoln for the rest of his days, and rendered him incapable of loving any other woman.

The position in which this left Mary Todd is not exactly enviable and Mrs. Randall is convinced that this was known to Herndon and delighted him; so the flaying she administers to that sadistic fabulist is a pleasure to observe.

The real value of her book, however, is not the execution it does among the slanderers. It is her marvelous ability to make the reader understand the torment to which an emotionally unstable woman was subjected in Mary Todd Lincoln's situation.

For Lincoln himself was emotionally unstable in his earlier years. His fits of black depression were distinctly pathological and a severe trial to all around him. His temperamental indifference to neatness and order must have been maddening to any housewife, and even his tolerant good-humor in the face of hysterical outbursts probably heaped fuel upon the flames. He was not an easy man to live with, and for a woman of Mary Todd's type he was especially unsuitable.

Nevertheless, they loved each other. Mrs. Randall establishes that beyond any reasonable doubt, and makes Herndon's sour assertions to the contrary ridiculous. In fact, she almost reverses one popular verdict—she almost proves that Mary Todd was probably good for Abraham Lincoln, while he was very bad for her. Certainly she gave him practice in tolerance and patience which stood him in good stead when he became President. But in the end he became immortal and she went crazy.

It is incredible that anyone can read this book without developing a profound pity for this tormented soul. In the end, Mary Todd Lincoln stands acquitted for any evil intent. But to say that she is rehabilitated is going too far. She suffered damnably, it is true—three of her four sons died, her family was split by the Civil War, and she was the target of political mud-slingers—but other women have suffered as much, and more, without lacerating everyone around them.

The fact is that the woman was mentally disturbed. Mrs. Randall admits it, but clings to the strange theory that the disturbance was confined to the one subject of money, ignoring the delusions of persecution, the pathological jealousy, and the hysteria precipitated by incidents not connected with money. These things were not imagined by Herndon; they were common knowledge twenty years before Herndon wrote.

Mrs. Randall is indignant with a world that condemned Mary Todd Lincoln for her acts, although she admits that the world was not aware of her affliction. But it is hard to see how a public unaware that the woman was

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unbalanced could have taken any other attitude. The termagant was in plain view, while the victim was concealed; injustice resulted inevitably, but it was not all based on malice, certainly not on Herndon's malice.

In shelling the woods this book has blown up a number of relatively innocent by-standers, yet there is a certain rough justice in it, for a censorious world has forgotten or denied Mary Todd Lincoln's virtues. One was unshaken loyalty to her husband and her country; others were kindliness, generosity, industry and an idealism that misdirected sometimes became a vice. She was intelligent, cultivated and frequently charming; had she been endowed with the least spark of humor she might have been a far more delightful Dolly Madison. The story is tragic in the exact sense of the word—it inspires pity, terror and awe.

Against this Dr. Randall's third volume looks, to put it bluntly, somewhat pallid; but history always pales when it is ranged alongside a polemic. Urbanely, judicially, and, above all, exactly Dr. Randall traces in this volume the immensely complicated course of events following Gettysburg. His account of Lincoln has the advantage over all others of the revelations in the Lincoln papers opened in 1947; but a more important advantage is the fact that the historian realizes the vast importance of Lincoln's human qualities.

It is, however, a fragment—beautifully sculptured and well worth reading for itself alone, yet a fragment; so the best one can say is that this biography when completed seems likely to be basic to all subsequent studies of Abraham Lincoln. GERALD W. JOHNSON

MERTON'S PROGRESS

THE SIGN OF JONAS, by Thomas Merton (Harcourt, Brace; $3.50).

A HOLY YEAR VISITOR to Rome brought back a little story of his conversation there with an Irish monk of many years standing, on the subject of Thomas Merton's running description of his own spiritual development. Permitting himself the slightest snort, the monk had remarked: "If I asked my Superior to let me write my autobiography, he'd throw a pot at me!"

While not in any sense Father Merton's superior, I approached *The Sign of Jonas* with a pot of my own in hand, ready to let fly if the author came into any sort of range. Even allowing for the convert's passion to share his illumination, I had felt a vague sense of impropriety in the autobiographical loquacity of this Trappist, as well as a conviction that he was not yet ready for much that he had undertaken. But Father Louis, as he is now called, quite disarmed me. The publication of his journal is not simply another occasion for drawing attention to a young man who has already attracted considerable notice, nor was the writing of it undertaken to meet a demand for a new installment of Thomas Merton's Progress. His Superior, who set him to complete it, under obedience, and who decided upon its publication, unquestionably felt that it would be of instructive value not only to a public which is even a little suspicious of monasticism, but to the faithful laity which is sometimes not much better informed.

His Superior was right. His book communicates movingly the simplicity, rigor, and ardor of the life in this community of men who have left the world in order best to become part of it. Anyone who wants to know what happens in a monastery—what do they *do*, anyway?—will find the days and nights at Gethsemani rather beautifully described here. The monks work hard: replanting the forests, farming the land on which they live; making cheese; repairing and enlarging the house and farm buildings. The Traxcavator roars through the journal, breaking the Trappist silence, and counterpointing the chant of the Divine Office.

Anyone who wants to know what happens to a man, a writer of some gifts, who leaves "life" to join such a community, cannot fail to observe the metamorphosis of the unstable, world-hating, self-centered novice of the early entries into a serene self-disciplined, and joyful man, his gifts and energies fully employed, and his mind increasingly convinced of the rightness of the way he has chosen for his life. Dom Aelred Graham, the Benedictine Prior who has recently criticized Merton's apparent insistence that there is no *other* way, is probably right in his estimation of the dubious theology of such a formula proposed to all comers, but there are indications in *The Sign of Jonas* that Father Louis' own eyes are beginning to become more accustomed to the light, and that he will henceforth be better able to discern the distinctions that exist. He is not, as he was, so blinded by the sudden lightburst that everything else seems black; he is beginning now to see gradations of the light he loves even in the world—to see that, in fact, all life reflects it to one degree or another. He is therefore more able to love, a useful capacity, if he is, as he announces, going to be a saint.

His writing is for the most part relaxed, and he is sometimes very ingratiating in his treatment of himself. When his self-awareness is ruefully humorous it suggests that he has attained to a humility which the more self-consciously "humble" and reprecatory allusions to himself would leave doubtful. If Father Louis makes the grade of sainthood, what he eventually has to say will probably be impressively beautiful. The almost Isaiah-like eloquence of the prayer of praise with which he ends his journal promises that. S. M. FITZGERALD

THE CURE OF SOULS

ERRORS OF PSYCHOTHERAPY, by Sebastian de Grazia (Doubleday; $3).

SMALL GODS WALK up and down the land. To them, people pray. They pray for relief from disordered passions, but so long as they beseech small gods their peace will be small. They are like children crying for parents they do not know are dead.

So begins this critique of psychiatry by one of the most perceptive of our younger political scientists: Sebastian de Grazia of the University of Chicago, the University of Florence, and now of George Washington University. His first book was *The Political Community*, a brilliant application of Durkheim's analysis of anomie. This, his second, is the most incisive reappraisal of the vast confusion of modern treatments of emotional and mental disorders to appear in many a year.

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Many psychiatrists may resent criticism of their postulates and methods by a political scientist. Many laymen, befuddled by the flood of psychological popularizations, may be puzzled by an "outsider's" evaluation of the work of the "experts." Resentment and puzzlement alike will be allayed by serious reading of this vigorous and challenging volume.

The thesis, albeit admitting of no brief summary, hinges on a few unorthodox propositions. "The neurosis is a moral disorder." "Moral authority is the crux of all psychotheraphy." "Authority and morality and healing are connected in the family" and are therefore connected "in the new authorities possessed by man the Citizen and Believer." Moral relativism and "adjustment" as therapeutic goals are inoperable, since all psychic disorders are products of a sense of sin and all psychic health is inseparable from morality—i.e., atonement or at-one-ment with the community. Forgiveness of sin is more important than toleration of sin. This age-old truth has been better understood by religious, than by secular, therapists:

> This book seems to have begun with gods and made its way to God. But the ancient Greeks used to say that God is in the beginning and end and middle of everything. . . . To the extent that the loves and dreams of men are shared, to that extent the community lives. The dreams are the ideals sought by law and morality. . . . If a man does not partake of them, he is outside the community. He must be restored. . . . The political community cannot recognize a psychotherapy that is all in pieces.

The argument, dimly suggested by these fragments, is fully documented and richly supported by astute commentaries on the major schools of healing, the occupational disease of psychiatrists, primitive and ancient practices, the uses of the confessional, and the vision of an effective therapy consonant with the mores of society. But what if our moral values are in chaos, leaving all souls sick? DeGrazia believes that political science has here a mission of salvation. I am not sure that it is equal to the task. But this fascinating work deserves to be pondered by all who are concerned with the health of the psyche and of the body politic. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

WORDS AND STONES

AFRICAN FOLKTALES AND SCULPTURE, edited by Paul Radin and James Johnson Sweeney (Bollingen Series—Pantheon; $8.50).

ALL WHO ARE seriously interested in contemporary arts and letters will value this fascinating, beautifully designed book, which combines the highest scholarship gracefully with the finest criticism in the manner we now think of as customary for the Bollingen Series.

Mr. Radin, who, in collaboration with Elinore Marvel, selected the eighty-one folktales, has written a brilliant essay on the tales of which the following will introduce one to the tales:

> . . . Native African folk-literature constitutes a single unit . . . The similarities extend not merely to the types of plot constructions and to specific subject matter, but to literary devices as well. . . . But even more . . . fundamental than the similarities . . . are the stark realism, the insistent emphasis upon man in all his moods, the emphasis upon the contemporary scene, and the high degree of sophistication pervading the whole of native African oral literature. Rarely has man been depicted as more completely and inextricably anchored in this world, more obsessively earthbound. Contrary to the belief widespread throughout the world, man in aboriginal Africa is never thought of as having once possessed a portion of divinity and having subsequently lost it.

If, in essence, these are the conditions and the beliefs under which they were told, then these African tales should not be called "sophisticated" at least in the esthetic sense accepted in literary criticism—that is, sophisticated in theme and sophisticated in style. The tales do not seem deprived of a native simplicity of idea, nor do they seem artificial or contrived in their "literary devices." In fact, sophistication seems precluded (except, of course, as the apposite of ignorance): irony is surely a major ingredient of literary sophistication; and there can be no irony in the African aboriginal if, when he looks at his stark plight, he cannot say "all this would not have happened, if I had not lost my touch of divinity."

The term—irony of Fate—was surely unknown to them. And as such, so was satire; and thus so was humor of this high form. Without it and the need to communicate it, the devices of style—exaggeration, understatement, or other ornaments and figures of speech—are lacking. These tales are not finely wrought though Aristotle would have been delighted by the formal qualities; each has a beginning, a middle, and an end. The bird tales and animal tales are charming and pleasant, in a way reminiscent of early Greek pastorals. And there is delight, especially in the casual mood which remains undisturbed even by magic, surprises, or disaster; but one must really read these tales in the manner Mr. Sweeney asks one to look at the sculptures: "The non-African can only hope to respond directly through his visual experience—his personal non-African eye."

The sculptures do come into one's consciousness more directly than the tales, for one's visual memory is filled with pure images, those seen or imagined seen but almost never with those taught; whereas in reading, the whole of conceptual memory seems encumbered with that baggage which knowledge carries with it of what one has read, or feels about what one has read, or has been taught. Any or all of these are likely to loom up at an unexpected moment, and though we read in a richer "meaning," we get, at the same time, an adulterated experience. We are apt, also, to have a complex literate reaction to these tales from the preliterate African aboriginal, simply because it is congenitally impossible to experience *oral* literature except in the context, for modern Western man, of a *written* language.

If as the Surrealists would have done, we can come back, nearly full circle, to a condition of simplicity (an act, incidentally, of highest sophistication) we can, having read these folktales, engage and rejoice in the sculptures for their quality of simplicity abundant with vitality and of materials treated with consummate respect and love. Of such is born their mastery of materials—a high craftsmanship—that impresses one equally as much as their concepts of Form. Almost every sculpture is small in size. Only a few of the masks are more than two feet high; and this in itself is remarkable for it

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shows that these African carvers by choice worked in the small form, not in the life-size nor the heroic, even though they had a mastery of carving, of smelting processes, of the "lost wax" method of casting, or of the constructive technique of building masks of metal in architectonic planes. These sculptures, richly diverse and original, are excellent esthetically because we sense that the African chose to make *the small* and to make it well.

In the early 1900's, Matisse and Vlamick and others of *Les Fauves* took their impressions of these sculptures onto their canvasses in wild and unexpected ways. Just before them Frobenius, the first anthropologist to understand that these translations of African folktales engaged the imagination of Yeats and of Pound and thereby enriched modern poetry in English. And now in this excellent volume *African Folktales and Sculpture*, Mr. Radin and Mr. Sweeney have not only brought the two art forms together: in so doing they have increased our enjoyment of each by giving us for the first time the chance to experience—one in juxtaposition to the other—the sculptures in the context of that Africa which looms up out of these tales.

ROBERT RICHMAN

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE RUSSIAN MENACE TO EUROPE, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, edited by Paul W. Blackstock and B. F. Hoselitz (Free Press; $3.75).

This book may fairly be called a long and grim joke. Marx and Engels, twin deities of the Communist movement for the past hundred years, were bitterly opposed to Czarist Russia, and wrote voluminously about it in the form of articles, speeches, letters, and news stories published in the New York *Herald*. The astonishing fact is that so much of what they wrote a century ago applies exactly to the Russia of today, and especially to the tendency in recent years toward Panslavism. The editors say:

> The main provisional and final objectives of Russian foreign policy have not been altered and only relatively small and incidental tactical features have changed. . . . The foreign policy methods of Soviet Russia have remained similar to those originated by Ivan I, domesticated by Ivan III, generalized by Peter I, and westernized by Catherine II.

This statement is too sweeping to be wholly true, since Czarist Russia did not try to foment revolution in every other country on earth; but it is sufficiently true to make this book surprisingly up-to-date reading, and to support, on the basis of probability, the statement on the jacket that "Soviet Russia has done everything in its power to put a veil of oblivion over the writings contained in the present volume." B. B.

THE MAKING OF A SOUTHERN INDUSTRIALIST, by Gerald W. Johnson (North Carolina; $2).

This biograpical essay sketches the life and times of S. B. Tanner, a leading merchant-manufacturer in North Carolina during the post-Civil War era. With sympathy and a refreshing candor, the author explains the operations of a representative textile baron and the great and rapid transformation that such men brought about in the South. Mr. Johnson offers some insights into such phenomena as mill stores and villages, sumptuary regulations and paternalistic labor policies. Similar studies of other Southern businessmen could contribute greatly to a better understanding of the development of the South's economy, institutions, and folkways.

Until we know much more about business leaders—how they think and operate—industrial economics will remain a rather superficial and mechanistic subject and vital elements in American history will be missing. Industrialists, like S. B. Tanner, with great gifts for organization and salesmanship, are apt to be rather uncommunicative; unlike political and military leaders, they are not wont to compose memoirs, diaries, or even revealing letters. Only from penetrating studies of successful enterprisers can a genuine appreciation be gained of the operations of American business, and, thus, an understanding of much of our life and culture. Here especially, a resourceful and skillful biographer like Gerald Johnson can be of real aid to economists and historians. R.A.L.

ANDERSEN'S BOOMERANG

by Eric Bentley

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, by George Tabori, is not a very good play but the labors of Harold Clurman and Lee J. Cobb make the evening at the Barrymore an exciting one. The acting of the Group Theatre tradition is probably, aside from musicals, the best kind of American theatre work, and it is a kind not, to my knowledge, found in Europe, despite its origin in Stanislavsky's "method." When Americans attempt an English manner (say, for Shakespeare, Shaw, or Wilde), they most often come a cropper; but in *The Emperor's Clothes* it is the one English actor (Esmond Knight) who seems gauche and helpless.

Lee J. Cobb is perhaps the leading exponent of this American way of acting; what is more important, he is one of our best actors. I do not mean we have no misgivings about him. His besetting temptation is sentimentality. When in doubt, he thumps the table, screams his head off, or wallows in a fit of weeping. Like most actors of his school, he sometimes seems to mistake the jitters for creative energy. In *The Emperor's Clothes*, however, Mr. Cobb gives of his best. The degree of control and craftsmanship in his performance is so great that those who wish to see actors "being" their parts and not acting them begin to talk of over-conscious artifice and excessive intellectuality; Stanislavskyites themselves begin to wonder if Mr. Cobb has stayed in line. For though he does carry you away with the violence of his emotions, and this to a degree very seldom known in the theatre today, he also engages your intellect and arouses your admiration of his skill. His performance has a double action: it draws you in and it holds you away. In the jargon of theatre esthetics, there is empathy, and there is distance. I submit that this is the paradox—or, better, the dialectic—of first-rate acting.

Mr. Clurman is also a master of his craft. The plasticity of his scenes is in broad contrast with the ghastly stiffness of other directing jobs of the season—Miss Hellman's or even Jed Harris's. The Group Theatre's stress on the or-

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ganic, the spontaneous, the inward, the "real," pays off. This is a production in which one can sit back and enjoy apt moves and groupings, smooth transitions, accurate punctuation, distinct articulation, well-built climaxes, well-timed anti-climaxes, lulls, and pauses. If there is anything in the direction to complain of, it is a certain softness of texture. Perhaps there is a vein of sentimentality in Mr. Clurman as in Mr. Cobb. I find him in the new play, as in *Time of the Cuckoo*, making too easy an appeal to sweet background music. The heroic ending of *Emperor's Clothes* is seriously weakened by this; and the weakest scenes of all are those where Maureen Stapleton speaks some pseudo-Chekhov with piano accompaniment.

Perhaps this last weakness is partly the actress's fault. If Mr. Cobb might be the cue for a eulogy of the Group tradition, Miss Stapleton forces us to see certain dangers in it. Already in *The Rose Tattoo* one wondered if, for all her fine talent, she mistook neurasthenia for vitality. Still, in that play, one at least took the fluttery, feathery movements as belonging to, and springing from, the part and the occasion. It is when she repeats them all in so different a play as *The Emperor's Clothes* that they come to seem mere mannerism. Yesterday's inventions are today's clichés; syncopation can be as mechanical as a regular beat.

Is the actress herself to blame, or the director—or the author? Mr. Tabori is a controversial figure. Last year his *Flight into Egypt* had a cold reception here, and the reviews of *The Emperor's Clothes* are also, up to this writing, unfavorable, yet on both occasions the theatre was much more highly charged with thought and feeling, particularly the latter, than I have found it to be when certain highly praised plays were brought before us. The theatre is always and rightly in search of a play for the times, a play that is a luminous theatrical image of our permanent crisis, a play which at the very least would be stirring journalism—in the way that Koestler's or Orwell's novels are stirring journalism. The theatre of George Tabori engages our attention because it is an earnest effort in this direction. If it fails, it is simply from inadequacy of talent. Tabori is the rich man's Koestler: his journalism (as witness his titles) is full of literary affectation.

If it is hard to apportion credit and blame as between actor and director, it is even harder, these days, to apportion them as between the script and the production. *Flight into Egypt* petered out in utter ambiguity of plot. One didn't know whether Mr. Tabori's people decided to stick to Europe or become refugees in America, though this was (as far as I could make out) the main point at issue. In *The Emperor's Clothes* there is also a broken link in the narrative chain. A Hungarian professor, as of 1930, has gone off to be investigated by the political police. His wife has every reason to believe he will crumple under their pressure. When an old wooer of hers offers to get her out of the country, she has every inducement to go. At this point, the dialogue has her say, No, "another name or place will not help us;" yet the action seems, on the contrary, to sweep her offstage to pack her bags. . . . No doubt this short passage could be clarified. I mention it, however, as typical of the blot or blur that characterizes Mr. Tabori's two plays in the form in which they have come before us. I don't know if Mr. Tabori's friends blame the flaws in *The Emperor's Clothes* on Mr. Clurman; they did blame the flaws in *Flight into Egypt* on Mr. Kazan. No mere spectator could unravel this tangled skein, but a sense of theatre would suggest that Messrs. Kazan and Clurman gave much more to these plays than they took away. When you listen to Mr. Tabori's lines in isolation from the actors and the stage they sound either very flat or very fancy. It takes production to raise this writing above ludicrous melodrama or semi-fashionable fiction. It takes acting of the very highest order to give these people any sort of reality. Without Lee Cobb and Anthony Ross, the Hungarian professor and his doctor brother are the stereotypes of the anti-fascist literature of twenty years ago. This is a playwright one would only wish to see dressed in all the regalia of theatrical illusion. His writing puts us uncomfortably in mind of the Emperor's new clothes.

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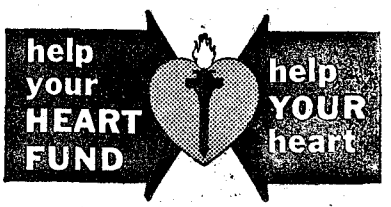

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